DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 383 254 HE 028 366

AUTHOR Ortiz, Flora Ida; Gonzales, Rosa
TITLE How Special Recruitment Programs Contribute to Institutional Changes: The Case of Latino Students' Eligibility for Higher Education.
PUB DATE Apr 95
NOTE 32p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (San Francisco, CA, April 18-22, 1995).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; *College Preparation; *College School Cooperation; College Students; Eligibility; Higher Education; High Schools; High School Students; *Hispanic Americans; Minority Groups; *Organizational Change; Program Effectiveness; Qualitative Research; State Universities; Student Recruitment
IDENTIFIERS Diversity (Student); *Latinos; *University of California Riverside

ABSTRACT

This qualitative case study examined the effects of a special collaborative program by the University of California (UC) at Riverside and a local high school to prepare Latino youth for eligibility for higher education. The study also involved a theoretical analysis of institutional changes brought about through implementation of the "Principal's Pick" program. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and document and artifact analysis. The program was found to result in the following changes: (1) it contributed to the diversification of the University of California student body; (2) it identified and changed the processes of preparing and educating Latino youth; and (3) it altered roles and responsibilities of several key admission and outreach offices and administrators at UC. Finally, the high school has undergone several changes in curriculum, calendars and scheduling, counseling for higher education, and cooperation with feeder middle schools. (Contains 12 references.) (JB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 383 254

HOW SPECIAL RECRUITMENT PROGRAMS CONTRIBUTE TO INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES: THE CASE OF LATINO STUDENTS' ELIGIBILITY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

by
Flora Ida Ortiz
&
Rosa Gonzales

University of California, Riverside
April 1995

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Flora Ida Ortiz

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC).

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

AERA 1995

This paper has been prepared for presentation at the AERA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, April 1995.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HOW SPECIAL RECRUITMENT PROGRAMS CONTRIBUTE TO INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES: THE CASE OF LATINO STUDENTS' ELIGIBILITY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Flora Ida Ortiz
Rosa Gonzales
University of California, Riverside
April, 1995

The objectives of this report are: (1) to present a case study of a special program designed to prepare Latino youth for eligibility for higher education, (2) present a theoretical analysis of institutional changes brought about through the implementation of a special program, and (3) to suggest how institutionalism and special programs may be conceived in order to improve organizations.

A public challenge between the Chancellor of a University of California and the Principal of a Southern California High School originated the program in this study. The program, Principal's Pick, was created and is now in its second year. Our analysis is limited to the first year of its existence.

The need for the study is obvious because the counties from which the University draws its students have the fastest growing K-12 public school populations in the state. Second, in these two counties, college attendance by high school graduates is about 2/3 the U.S. rate, with reduced rates found in all ethnic groups. Third, achievement by students in this area has consistently been below state averages. Fourth, public schools have a disproportionately large number of white teachers compared to both K-12 and higher education student bodies. In the two counties, white teachers represent 86% of the teaching staff while white students represent less than 50% of the K-12 public school student body and less than 60% of the University's enrollment.

Eligibility

The California Master Plan for Higher Education recommends that the UC establish its freshmen eligibility criteria so that the top 1/8 or top 12.5% of the public high school graduating class will be eligible to enroll as freshmen. The criteria are as follows: (1) A-F courses, (2) grade point average (gpa) of 3.3 or better in the A-F courses, (3) a total SAT verbal and math score of 1100 or better or an ACT composite score of 26 or better and a combined score of at least 1650 on three College Board Achievement Tests (CBAT) with a minimum of 500 on each. The CBAT cover writing and math with a choice of English literature, foreign language, science or social studies for the third test.

The overall eligibility pool of the 1989-90 public high school graduates for freshmen admission to the UC in Fall 1990 was 18.8% of which 12.3% were fully eligible. The eligibility rates for Latino graduates increase was from 5.0% in 1986 to 6.8% in 1990. Latino graduates' eligibility from the two county area in this study have continued to be significantly below average. Three explanations have been offered: (1) college preparatory programs are less likely to be found in predominantly minority schools than in majority schools (Oakes, 1985), (2) Latino students are more inclined to be tracked away from college preparatory programs and into general or vocational tracks and (3) Latino students are not as likely to be able to afford to take the examinations due to the fee associated with the administration of the examination.

Methodology

This case study is qualitative in nature. Data were collected through observation, interview, and document and artifact analysis. Interviews were conducted with University

staff, the High School principal and counselors, teachers, high school students who enrolled at the University and their parents, high school students and one of their parents. Most interviews were audio-taped and were about an hour long. The length varied from 1/2 hour to 2 hours. The High School students were interviewed in three groups of three. A total of 23 tapes were collected. These interviews were later transcribed and analyzed.

Observational data were collected from classroom observations, parent meetings, conducted in Spanish and English, a faculty meeting and a financial aid workshop. The data were audio-taped when possible. Extensive notes were taken during the observation and summary statements were written up immediately after the observations. Relevant documents and artifacts were collected and later analyzed.

Document analysis of both university and high school materials was conducted. Newspaper and other media reports, meeting agendas, handbooks, informational reports, lesson plans, school calendars, university activity calendars, correspondence, student work, newspapers, and published monographs, and other written materials were collected and analyzed. Photographs were taken of various settings within the high school. Artifacts such as maps and other high school memorabilia were also collected and examined.

The analysis was guided by a theoretical framework specifying the nature of interorganizational and interpersonal relationships necessary between the university and the high school.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Theoretical Framework

We begin our analysis of a special program designed to prepare Latino youth for

eligibility for UC and the institutional changes that took place through the implementation of the program by presenting a number of concepts. The first concept is that of myth. Webster defines myth as a thing spoken of as existing. "Myths appeal to the consciousness of a people by embodying its cultural ideals or by giving expression to deep, commonly felt emotions" (The American Heritage Dictionary, 1985). We use the concept of myth to explain how two organizations' leaders agreed to increase the number of Latino youth at the University. Powell and DiMaggio (1991) claim that rationalized institutions create myths in order to accomplish certain objectives, activities and services are given meaning in order to "mobilize the commitments of internal participants and external constituents" (p. 51). Two myths are operative in the present case: (1) higher education is accessible to all groups and (2) admission to the university is based on merit.

The second concept is rationalized formal structures. Powell and DiMaggio (1991) claim that these structures are necessary and an instititionalized context must be created as part of the response to the changing conditions. Both, the University and High School would be linked to each other through the Principal's Pick Program. The Principal at the High School and Chancellor at the University would obligate each other's organization to increase the Latino student enrollment at the University. The creation of the Principal's Pick Program became the means by which the Principal at the High School could mobilize the organization's personnel and its community to work towards the preparation of the High School students to be eligible for UC admission. Concurrently, the Chancellor at the University used the Principal's Pick Program to justify modifying admissions and enrollment rules and regulations in order to enroll an increasing number of students from the High

School. The Principal's Pick Program was given meaning and existence through the actions of the two institutions.

The third concept is vertical interdependence. This concept specifies how the High School and University relate to each other. Vertical interdependence exists among organizations that are located at adjacent stages of a production process (Goldberg, 1983). The vertical interdependence between high schools and universities is in the first instance due to their adjacent location to each other. Second, high school students seek admission to the University, but concomitantly, the University draws most of its students from high school graduates. Third, universities are advantaged because high school students are admitted to the university by complying to its rules and regulations. Finally, in this case, the organizational leaders differ in organizational status with the University Chancellor above the High School Principal.

The next four concepts: regulatory, technical, fiscal and symbolic show how the officials from each insititution relate to each other. First, they relate to each other on a regulatory (Lowi, 1979) basis because the high school must fulfill certain regulations before students can be admitted. Second, they relate to each other fiscally because enrollment does not take place until fees are paid. The officials can relate to each other on a technical basis by providing technical assistance, such as the university offering in-service workshops, or they can relate to each other symbolically, such as when the Vice-Chancellor for Enrollment Management, the high school Principal, and the Director of EOP/SAA meet for dinner. The dominant basis for the relationship between each organization is, however, regulatory.

Finally, role enactment is used to explain how individuals' actions, beliefs, and

relationships facilitated or impeded the preparation of Latino youth for UC. Young (1986) defines an institution as "recognized practices consisting of easily identifiable roles, coupled with a collection of rules or conventions governing relations among the occupants of these roles" (p. 13). In the present case, the High School and the University, as institutions, differ from each other in practices, roles, rules or conventions, and relations with each other.

The Principal's Pick Program

The High School graduated its first senior class in 1962. The High School has undergone recent dramatic demographic changes. One of the counselors presented a brief history. She said,

> This used to be an ivory white high school. It used to be probably 90% white, maybe not 10% Latino. But I think at one time it was 85% white with a small percentage of Latinos and a larger black population. All the Latinos went to the neighboring district's high school. Many of the teachers that are here were here when....all the white kids were here. And, so their way of thinking is that when the brown people came in, the quality of education had to go down.

The High School enrolls over 2000 students each year. The freshmen cohort consists of about 650 students. Tenth graders number over 500, eleventh graders over 450, and twelfth graders about 400. About 8 out of 113 faculty and administrative personnel are Latino. Over 75% of the students are Latino. The data presented above shows why it would be important to focus on the preparation of Latino youth for UC admission.

The creation of the Principal's Pick Program consists of several important aspects. First, individuals personally committed to the idea challenged each other to act. Second, the Program was created to appeal to a particular ethnic group from a particular high school whose student body is predominantly Latino and led by a Latino Principal. Third, the

Program was created under the aegis of a UC Task Force created by the UC President. Fourth, the inception took place in a public forum attended by the University's administrators who witnessed the proceedings but did not voice opposition, thereby affirming the Chancellor's action. One of the University's officials described the event this way.

> This Program came as a result of our involvement with the UC Task Force. The Task Force Chair said, "I got a little bit of say because we're Presidential appointments, so we carry a little weight and this would be a good time to put your Chancellor on the hot seat and it wouldn't be you guys taking the heat but the Task Force taking the heat. It would be a good time to see what we can get. ...It was the first time that Deans and Vice-Chancellors responding to what the hell they're doing for Chicanos, and they showed up because the Chancellor was hosting the event. Although we organized it, the Chancellor was the one saying, I want you there. That's why the Vice-Chancellors and Deans were there and that's why they scrambled to see what they could say about la raza.

The Principal's Pick Program is designed to identify Latino high school graduates who are expected to be successful at the University of California. The first program began with 40 students picked by the Principal, 25 applied and were accepted, 13 attended and 12 enrolled at the University September 1993. Because it was late in the application cycle to the University process, students' applications were processed, enrollment, housing and financial packages were designed for them, and some students were enrolled through special admissions. Thirteen students from the High School were attending the University when the fall quarter began. One student does not consider herself as part of this group. One student dropped out about midway through the first quarter. Another student dropped out during the spring quarter. Finally, one student failed to enroll officially even though she attended and was housed at the University during the year. The exact composition of the

students who participated in the 1993-94 Principal's Pick Program is as follows: 5 Latino males, one 1/2 white and Latino male, 2 1/2 white and Latina females, 2 African American males and 2 white females.

The implementation of the Principal's Pick Program

Eligibility rates for UC admission depend on how individual students and institutions discharge their responsibilities. For Latino students, it is very important that their high schools take a very active role for college preparation in informing students about the various routes to higher education. Because so many Latino students will be the first members of their families to consider and perhaps attend college, their major source of information will be the high school. School personnel must be familiar with the fundamental information necessary for students to become "prepared for college." Responsibility for transmitting this information lies with the Principal, counselors, and teachers. Information about college, how to prepare for college, and what is necessary for college admission does not naturally enter students' consciousness. Somebody has to be responsible for relaying that information.

Principals

Principals can be very influential in motivating students to aspire to professional leadership careers. When students were asked who was influential in their college preparation, most of them referred to the Principal and Principal's Pick Program which was initiated in the 1993-94 school year. Several students commented that their opportunities for going to college had improved with the partnerships that had been established with the University. One student said, "He cares about the students. Most of all, he started a

program at the University for the students, for the seniors. I mean the other principal never cared whether you went to college or not, as long as you graduated."

The Principal expressed his intentions by relating a story about his interview for his present position. "When I interviewed for this job one of the questions I was asked was, "At the end of the year, what are the teachers going to say? What are they going to be tired about with you?' I said simply, "College, college, college. That is all he ever talks about'... So you know there is no question that this is a mission that I have."

Realizing that the mission was going to have to be shared the Principal explained, "As I told the counselors, 'What I need from you, ...is the excitement I have, that spark that I have.' So what I have decided is that they are going to do it."

Counselors

High schools are structured to provide information and services to students regarding their preparation for adult roles. The High School's counselors primary responsibility was to advise the students about their courses. Most of the counselors have been at the school since the student body was predominantly white. Most of these counselors' perceptions are that Latino youth are not likely and/or capable of going to the University. If higher education is contemplated for the students, counselors encourage attendance at the local community college. Two of the counselors are perceived to be generally supportive of preparing Latino youth for University enrollment. The head of the counselors is viewed as the strongest advocate for Latino youth. She is responsible for supervising how students are advised and the content of that advice.

The first step in the preparation of Latino High School students for UC admission

is to determine their eighth grade performance in math, reading, and English and career interests. Based on that information, some students are then advised to take the college preparatory courses which include the A-F courses. Some students, however, do not perform well enough in the tests administered in the eighth grade and/or for other reasons enroll in courses which are relatively easy for them. They perform well in these courses and barring any interventions may remain there and fail to be prepared for UC admission, even though they may have the potential to be good university students. The counselor describes how she intervenes. "I tell the kids, Go tell your teacher that you need to be in a college prep class. But a lot of teachers get mad. They get mad because [they think], you're taking my best students. I'm just going to be stuck with the dockies." [Students who don't improve their performance].

Since teachers enjoy having these students in their classes, they are reluctant to recommend students transfer to college preparatory courses. For the most part, course enrollment is on teacher recommendation. If a teacher makes a bad recommendation, the counselor can intervene. However, the attitude in the counseling office is that any student can take a course if he wishes. Any student has that right, whether or not the teacher thinks the student should be there. If the student wants to attempt a course, it is allowed. If after a period of time the student is experiencing nothing but failure, then something else is tried. Counselors' responsibilities, therefore, extend beyond their personal advice to students in the confines of their offices. Counselors may intervene when the placement of students in courses does not appear to be appropriate. However, from our data it appears counselors are reluctant to intervene. Student choice of courses is likely to prevail.

Counselors can also intervene in the process by encouraging and informing parents about the benefits of college. They can also prepare both the student and parent for the transition that will be necessary. These actions are based on the personal orientation towards students and their future. The counselor summarizes, "I've always had the belief that kids will rise to the occasion."

When students enroll as tenth graders, they are requested to meet with a counselor, presumably to receive advice regarding their high school program and preparation for adult roles. Students are individually assigned alphabetically to a counselor with a specified time for review of their program. The character and quality of this review vary widely.

The advising process has two parts: (1) who relays the information and how is it received and (2) the content of the information itself. For example, one student described how his high school program was approved as part of the counselor's action to a group of students at one time. There was no discussion regarding the students' preparation for college or future. Instead, the advice was present oriented, "You're doing good in these classes so we'll just put you in these." Another student, in contrast, said, "I more or less just took the classes that I needed. I decided myself what I wanted to take." Still another student described how the counselor tried to dissuade him from pursuing a college preparatory program. "[The counselor] didn't prepare me with the A-F courses. I was there and I said I wanted to go to the University." But he said, 'Oh, you don't have to go to the University. You could just go to the community college.' ...When I was debating whether to take physics or anatomy...he said, 'Oh, no you shouldn't take it. It's too hard for you.'"

The form in which information was provided to students was highly personalized

according to the counselor's proclivities. The content of the information was also based on the preferences of the advisor. The advice took five forms: (1) students are called in as a group and assigned to courses, (2) students are scheduled for individual appointments to receive help in course assignment; (3) students seek advice when they have a problem, (4) students seek advice on their own, and (5) students don't go to a counselor for advice; instead they just take the courses they wish. The content of the advice is of four types: (1) counselors assign courses to students based on, "You're doing good in these classes, so we'll just put you in these," (2) counselors assign students to courses they think are best for them, (3) counselors assign students to the courses they personally prefer, and (4) counselors may dissuade students from taking courses which will prepare them for college.

We conclude that (1) students must seek help from their high school counselors; (2) students are likely to receive advice that is present-oriented rather than information which will prepare them for their future; (3) students are likely to receive advice that is particularized to the counselor rather than advice that is in the student's personal and future interest; and (4) even though counselors have students specifically assigned to them to advise and even though the type of information to be given to students is specified in the high school counselor's job description, students are being given information that is present-oriented and reflects the counselors' orientations rather than the students' needs. The reader is being reminded that some of these students required special action from both the high school and university in order to be admitted to the UC. Maybe, some students do receive the information necessary to prepare for eligibility to UC. Nonetheless, our data show that counselors' judgments regarding the advice these students receive is contributing

to the low preparation of Latino youth to UC.

The Principal's Pick Program was instrumental in making some changes regarding the counseling process, the courses offered and the monitoring of students. Some of the changes were to identify and place those students who should be in college preparatory classes in the proper courses. Remedial courses were eliminated from the curriculum and additional A-F courses were created. The middle schools which feed into the High School were likewise, enabled to offer algebra to their eighth graders in order to feed freshmen students prepared for math courses necessary for UC success. The High school yearly calendar was changed to ensure that students would be able to include in their High School experiences other classes and courses besides the A-F course requirements. For example, additional music, art or athletic activities would be options for those students fulfilling A-F course requirements.

Teachers

Teachers' influence may be more potent than the principal's or counselor's because they have daily sustained contact with students. Students stressed that some teachers encouraged them to aspire to go to college after graduation. Maria said, "A lot of times from those two teachers you found out more stuff than you found out from the counselors themselves because they took time to give it to you."

Teachers decide what kind of information to give to which group of students. Teachers who teach the college preparatory courses and students are more likely to present information regarding college than those teachers who do not. So, for students, fulfilling the A-F course requirements means that they will receive additional information regarding

college. One teacher described some of the ways in which she was involved in preparing students for college. "I give the SAT. We have a program for students to learn to study. They get Saturday and afternoon help from a teacher assigned for that purpose. We have a set-up for the ACT and other tests. The students practice test-taking skills."

A study conducted by Nell Keddie (1991) offers one possible interpretation regarding the relationship between teachers and their students. Her study showed that teachers acted differently with students who were of a different social class than themselves, and thus the distribution of classroom knowledge depended on how the individual teacher identified with the students. Even though teachers stated that their treatment of students was equal when observed, teachers' actions often failed to coincide with what they said they did. As in Keddie's study, the teachers of this study also demonstrated some discrepancies in enacting their roles depending on the students they taught. We identified four types of teachers: factory, dual, museum guide and ethnic.

The factory model teacher's classroom was a college preparatory class set up as a bureaucratic factory. A bureaucracy has a hierarchy of authority, establishes rules for incumbents, specifies procedures and is impersonal (Hoy and Miskel, 1978). In this classroom, the teacher was the authority, rules specified the procedures for the class and there were few positive interactions.

> Today we're gonna be reading in the book, To Kill a Mockingbird, and you're going to get it done. You need to bring the book with you each day...and use it through Tuesday. Tuesday we will start review. Tuesday and Wednesday we will do some review. And I will tell you exactly what you need to know for the final exam. You need to finish reading the book by Tuesday.

The role enactments within this factory model illustrate how the participants assume their roles as jobs: one as a supervisor and the others as workers. The teacher sets up an efficient classroom in which to enforce the rules in a disciplined and impersonal manner. The students enact the complimentary role. That is, they are submissive, conforming, and busy at task. The participants are respectively rewarded for their enacted roles with grades.

The dual or teacher expectations model illustrates how teachers' and students' enactment of their roles may be based on the teacher's perception of the student. Teachers come to the classoom with their own personal histories. The teacher's limited interactions at the University level with Latinos affects the teacher's perception of Latino's potential for college. Latino youth's similarly limited experience leads to their lowered expectations of themselves and the failure to prepare for higher education. The teacher's explanation about Latinos not obtaining college education may include language deficiency. She explained, "I would assume it might in part be for the same reason you don't have a long line of Caucasians succeeding in Mexico and Spain, the language problem."

This teacher's belief about learning languages and her perception of the students will affect how she prepares Latino youth for college. For example, in the low reading class her 15 Latino students followed the directions given by a TV teacher after she had briefly explained and reviewed a previous lesson and turned on the TV monitor. During the honors English class, this same teacher personally interacted with the students as they walked in the door. Both Caucasian and Latino students were involved in the class preparing a project associated with Scarlet Letter. The teacher's differentiated interaction with the two groups of students illustrates how this teacher's work role corresponded to the

type of student she was teaching.

The museum guide or student empowerment model teacher was described by a student, "It was like he was guide and we were walking through a museum and he was in fact explaining everything as we visualized it." The teacher was one who accompanied pupils on a tour of new places, but eventually reached a point where he left them to analyze and interpret independently. The museum guide moved the crowd forward and continually checked to see that those in the group remained with him. In this manner, those being guided would not miss the important points. The teacher explained,

> I've always spent some time during my class to promote college with my students here. What I do is I usually go over like the US News and World Report on best colleges and majors. I've had lots of my students that are going to various colleges come back. I usually spend 3 or 4 days during the year having students come back and talk about college.

This teacher assumes students will consider higher education as part of their future.

The ethnic or role-mentoring model teachers serve a symbolic and political function for the school. They provide a significant voice for their ethnic group, sometimes without even being aware of it. They also offer an interpretation of what it is that the students need in order to be successful and to prepare for college because they are members of the group and they have already been through the same process in the High School.

We examined two of these teachers' work roles in the High School. One of the teachers described teaching as a job. "My job is to teach them, and that's what I'm doing here, doing the best I can. I'm trying to teach them how to write an essay right now. But a lot of kids go, 'Teacher, I don't know how to start.' But I know that the teacher last year and in the 8th, 7th, and even 6th grade went through the whole process on how to write an

essay or at least a paragraph. ...But it is still like, OK, let's start all over again. These are Latino kids." She struggles to find an explanation for the slow learning process of these students. She concludes that the students' failure to learn is based on the students' ("These are the Latino kids") inabilities.

The other teacher, Mrs. Chavez, illustrates the caring and long-time familiarity with the community and the schools by contributing a maternal presence. She greeted the researcher as "mi hijita." She described her students: "My ideal class would be made up of students that have a dream, that have a goal. ...One that cares, one that is motivated, one that is enthusiastic about living."

This caring, nurturing style is one consistent with the role of teacher (Noddings, 1984). In this case, it is exaggerated because Mrs. Chavez addressed her students as "Mi hijito" or "Mi hijita" in the classroom and stressed "trying" in the expectation of the students' performance. She has been unable to differentiate her role as mother from her role as an elementary and high school teacher. She interacts with the students as children and her compassion for them makes it almost impossible for the students to fail. Any effort is acceptable in their eyes.

Both of these teachers are concerned about the education of their students. One blames the students and the other cares for them, but neither expects total success from them.

The success or failure of the Principal's Pick Program is highly dependent on the teachers. They control the knowledge that students receive behind closed doors (Weick, 1974). Historically, the teachers at the High School have prepared students for technical

schools, community college, or the work force. The creation of the Principal's Pick Program served to expect teachers to consciously prepare their students for college.

The Process of Admission

Latino youth have been disproportionately ineligible for admission to the University. The dramatic demographic changes in California's population call for the University to diversify its student body and to admit Latino youth. One way to do this is to grant eligibility to Latino youth. This is done at times by seeking an exception to the eligibility requirements, or as the Director for Admissions and Outreach explained, "What we are doing is changing the definition of eligibility. Eligibility means to me, in a more radical way, that the institution is eligible to serve the student rather than the way we traditionally think of it as the student being eligible to the institution." This office is also responsible for enforcing the eligibility criteria. Exceptions have to be sought from and approved by the Vice-Chancellor.

As was stated earlier, it is the university that grants admission and the University does this in a regulatory manner (Lowi, 1979). High school students fulfill requirements which the University imposes in order to enroll them. This regulatory relationship between the two institutions and the unequal stature between the executive officials from each institution leads to different enacted roles. For example, the Chancellor in describing this program to local superintendents portrayed himself in the following way, "Those of us who hold the leadership positions in these institutions have the responsibility to prepare our youth for productive lives. If we don't we will find ourselves in a third world society."

The Principal, on the other hand, speaks about access to college in this way. "I

emphasize college because I think college is the hardest thing to get into. ...If you shoot for the top, then you fall into the areas that you want to fall into. ...So college isn't for everybody, but I have yet to find a Chicano family whose aunts, uncles, cousins, grandchildren, etcetera have gone to college. We don't have the luxury yet to say, college isn't for everybody."

The Chancellor's role is, thus, one of proclaiming rather than acting whereas the Principal's is one of mobilizing action and players. The Chancellor says, "Get it done. Work something out." He proclaims, leads and allocates resources to support his mandate. The Principal, in contrast, delegates the responsibility of student preparation for UC enrollment to the counselors. He meets with students, parents, teachers, community leaders and media representatives to mobilize interest and action from a variety of sources. This difference in activity, interaction and role enactment demonstrates the regulatory basis of the relationship and vertical interdependence between the institutions. The Principal seeks access, complies with directives and regulations and personally participates in preparing Latino students to enroll at UC. Being Latino facilitates mobilizing that community but may create opposition from the non-Latino community. The emphasis on Latino student eligibility for the UC does not exclude other ethnic groups. The Principal's leadership is designed to improve the High School's student eligibility to attend UC.

The Principal's leadership role maintains an institutional norm, rather than a racial, ethnic or personal interest. Garfield's (1967) idea of norms is useful in this context. "Norms are guidance systems, rules of procedure that actors employ flexibly and reflexively to assure themselves and those around them that their behavior is reasonable. The content of norms

is externalized in accounts" (p; 21). The Principal knows that the High School and other high school students' acceptance at UC would be a widely-accepted, strongly endorsed norm. He can report to the public, including the non-Latino community, that the Principal's Pick Program is for the High School's students irrespective of their ethnic background.

The University

The Chancellor's directives move through a labyrinth of offices: Vice-Chancellor Enrollment Management, Director of Admissions-Outreach, Associate Director of Admissions-Outreach, Director of EOP/SAA, and Director of Financial Aid and Registrar.

The Vice-Chancellor for Enrollment Management directly accountable to the Chancellor is a white male as is the Chancellor. Both, by virtue of their gender, race, culture, and similar professional experiences, bring to the relationship immediate understanding of each other. The Vice-Chancellor's relationship to the rest of the officials is as their superior, supervisor and legitimizer. The Vice-Chancellor's relationship to the High School Principal and others is technical and symbolic.

Because the relationship between the University and the High School is regulatory, officials try to soften the relationship when they interact with each other. Lowi (1979) and Ortiz (1994) claim that predicating the relationship on symbolic or technical bases changes the regulatory vertical interdependence between the two institutions to one of horizontal interdependence, comparable to colleagueship. The Vice-Chancellor serves that purpose on occasion.

One of the changes that took place during the implementation of the Principal's Pick Program was the elimination of the Vice-Chancellor for Enrollment Management. An

explanation may lie in the demographic changes which have been taking place. The original structure for the recruitment, admission and enrollment process consisted of students applying and moving through the process as regular admits. The admissions offices would approve their applications and enrollment would follow. When educational opportunity and affirmative action were legislated, an office was created to engage in recruitment, admission and enrollment activities for disadvantage, underrepresented minority and other "special" groups.

Increasingly, the student population has been changing to such a degree that a larger proportion of students are being recruited, admitted and enrolled through the intervention and support of the Educational Opportunity Program/Student Affirmative Action (EOP/SAA) Offices. This does not mean that the proportion of regular admits has dropped, what it does mean is that the office of University contact has changed from the Admissions Office to the EOP/SAA Office. Eliminating the outreach responsibilites from the Admissions Office and integrating them with EOP/SAA streamlined the recruitment and admissions process. During the period of the study, the Director and Associate Director of Admissions/Outreach left. Those positions remain vacant. A possible explanation is that demographic changes have changed the work load and direction necessitating a restructuring of those offices.

The other two persons involved in this process were the Director of Admissions-Outreach and the Associate Director of Admissions-Outreach. Both of these positions were filled by African-American males who left shortly after the students enrolled. Neither one has been replaced. The Director of Admissions-Outreach participated in the selection of

the students. He, after examining many students' files which indicated student ineligibility, offered the option of sending some students to the community college for one year before being admitted at the University. This suggestion was not happily accepted. He explained, "We went over and talked to the students. The students were upset, but the Principal and I shared the process with them, and then they heard from both of us saying, "Look, you're going to be guaranteed a year, but we want to make sure that you succeed." The Associate Director of Admissions-Outreach, likewise, dealt with the issue of eligibility by recommending the community college.

The practice presented above challenges the Principal's Pick Program and the new institutionalism. The myths that higher education is accessible to all high school graduates and admission is based on merit challenge the assumptions under special admissions with the Principal's Pick Program. Meyer and Scott (1991) showed that "the structure and behavior of an organization depend importantly on the characteristics of the sector in which it operates" (p. 120). The Chancellor's intent for the Principal's Pick Program was to admit Latino youth directly from the High School to the University. Detouring to the community college both distorted the intent of the program and had the potential to contribute to organizational instability. The Principal expressed his concern. "My concern about the community college...is that the number of students that go on to a 4-year college from a community college is quite low. ...The community college connection hasn't been there."

Why would these officials suggest High School students enroll at the community college for one year? These officials are placed in the bureaucratic position of supporting the myths of access to higher education on merit, of enforcing the UC admissions criteria,

and adhering to the Principal's Pick Program's intent. One official tried to respond by changing the definition of eligibility. Special admission through this office required the approval of the Vice-Chancellor. They therefore, when unable to admit the 40 students the Principal picked, they sought an alternative which meant delayed admission rather than denied admission. This option is an attractive one to the University officials because the staff from the University would rather interact with community college personnel than High School counselors, students or parents. The Director of Admissions-Outreach described the relationship to the community college.

> Under the provision of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with community colleges, we already have a structure in place to assist those students by means of somebody from my staff going out on a regular basis. ...On another level we have faculty engage in conversation with faculty in community colleges about curriculum preparation and those kinds of things. In this way, we deal not only with the student but with the whole infrastructure.

The implementation of the Principal's Pick Program highlighted the necessary relationships between the High School and the University. The basis of the relationship between the Admission Office and the High School is regulatory. Several aspects are to be considered: (1) the myths of access to higher education for all and access based on merit must be upheld; (2) the office most properly instituted to justify Latino youth's admission is the EOP/SAA; (3) The EOP/SAA intervenes and supports the admission of underrepresented groups contributing to its expansion of responsibilities.

The EOP/SAA's expansion is reflected in their outreach effort. A staff member said,

> My office will be meeting with the counseling staff to decide what kind of services we should provide...because we want to create a pipeline that revolves on its own so that by the time

> students are seniors, they are ready for the university. We're designing workshops, presentations, study skills, time management and a motivational segment. Paramount to that is the identification of students. They will be monitored and provided activities such as campus tours, speaker series, evaluating transcripts and other events as necessary.

An effort to maintain the myth and integrate the Principal's Pick Program into the organization with minimal disruption includes combining new programs with existing ones. Linking the Principal's Pick Program and Early Academic Outreach has expanded the responsibilities of EOP/SAA, but has also added a high school to the network, strengthening the new institutionalism.

Since the focus of the Principal's Pick Program is the preparation of Latino youth for the UC, the Director of (EOP/SAA) Office assumed dominance. The Office is held by a Latina female who served as a role model and symbol for the institution and the program. This office is laden with political and social implications as well as institutional responsibilities. The Director explained it this way:

> EOP/SAA takes the responsibility for doing school visits to schools for recruitment purposes where there are high numbers of underrepresented students. That is because the major funding we get comes from the Office of the President and the state legislation is designed to do just that and I think that is one of the plusses of our campus. That money comes to augment and to add to that which the campus does.

When special programs come along, she acts to link offices within the University to others in the high schools and their communities. She said, "So, besides getting the information out, you also have to make sure that you have somebody who can speak the parent language and you need to do more relative to providing information than you may do at other places."

Fulfilling regulatory, technical and symbolic functions through this position facilitates the presentation of "an acceptable account of the organizational activities" (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991) in which this office engaged. The Director's responsibilities include monitoring student affirmative action and the recruitment and enrollment of underrepresented students. But these actions must be integrated in the "new" institution with legitimacy and stability. Four aspects deserve comment. First, the demographic changes taking place in the two counties have necessarily changed the work loads of the University's offices responsible for recruitment, admission and enrollment. Second, this position assumed considerable influence because it spans the complete process of student interaction with the University and because it involves interaction with a high number of administrative offices. This visibility is important to both institutions. Third, the Director's personal attributes enable her to develop and maintain extensive and continuous contact with both the High School and University communities. Fourth both organizations gain legitimacy, stability and resources through the successful role enactment of this official. This position serves to interconnect the societal relations (fulfilling affirmative action requirements), collective organizations of society (the Latino and non-Latino segments of the High School's and University's communities), and the leadership of both institutions (the Chancellor and Principal). Additionally, this Director's participation in the process ensures that Latino youth will be sought and enabled to move through the pipeline. Other underrepresented high school students will also flow alongside the Latinos. And each institution has gained legitimacy and stability.

Because educational opportunity and affirmative action are socially and politically

mandatory, the Director, is almost of necessity someone such as a Latina. This requirement demonstrates the critical aspects of personal attributes in organizational effectiveness.

The last office to consider is the Director of Financial Aid and Registrar. The officer is responsible for two areas: registration and financial aid. The office holder is a Latino male providing a positive model for the University and High School. The responsibilities are to register and enroll students and to provide financial aid to those who are in need. He is also responsible for providing information to parents and students regarding financial aid. His orientation is to finalize the process of admissions. Others, including students, parents and recruitment officials prefer that this official enter the process early. The Principal, for example, said, "We hold an evening session on financial aid and we had the students take the ACT. Forty kids physically gave us an application, financial aid packet, and test scores. But it is about financial aid that we want to hear." Coordinating and consolidating the recruitment and admission paperwork and activities are concerns for the EOP/SAA Director, because registration and financial aid can be delayed. This office, therefore, fulfills regulatory responsiblities as registrar, but fiscal responsibilities as Director of Financial Aid. Wnen this office assumes technical responsibility its legitimacy may be compromised. The official expressed reservations, the organization hesitated, but the need, for technical assistance in acquiring financial aid nevertheless remains.

The integration of financial aid activity is of particular concern to Latino students and parents. Meeting the deadlines, completion of applications and verifying eligibility were concerns expressed by virtually every student and their parent.

There are several reasons why financial aid information and assistance should be

provided early in the counseling process to Latino youth as they are considering attending college. First, there is a fee for taking the SAT and ACT. Second, there is an application fee and finally, there is the actual cost associated with the enrollment, housing and other expenses. Many Latino students do not take the examinations because they cannot afford them. Many students are also hesitant to apply because although the application fee may be waived, they do not know about it.

An examination of the University offices engaged in the recruitment, admission and enrollment of students has been presented. The Vice-Chancellor's and Director of EOP/SAA's roles enable both to relate to the High School on technical and symbolic bases. The Director and Associate Director of Admissions relationship is regulatory. The Director of Financial Aid and Restrar's relationship is fiscal and regulatory. Powell and DiMaggio (1991) explain that the transition from "old to new institutionalism has meant a shift from a normative to a cognitive approach to action; from commitment to routine, from values to premises, from motivations to the logic of rule following" (p. 19). In examining the effects of the Principal's Pick Program on the recruitment, admissions and enrollment process, one needs to determine the changes that have taken place within the responsible offices of both the High School and University. Generally, however, it is not sufficient to depend on the High School to prepare Latino youth for eligibility to the UC; instead the University must be instrumental in this activity.

The Principal's Pick Program is the means by which instead of relying on the High School's efforts to send High School graduates to the UC, the UC and High School knowingly agree to jointly act to send High School graduates to the UC. Their commitment

towards this results in a routine process by which both institutions can rely on each other on the movement of students. The premises begin with merit, but include diversity as well. Finally, the practice of preparing Latino youth for the UC should not only be from the motivation to diversify, necessitating the practice of special admission, but should result from educating Latino youth to be eligible for UC admission.

Conclusions

Several institutional changes resulted from the Principal's Pick Program. First, the Principal's Pick Program designed to immediately draw Latino youth to the UC contributed to the diversification of its student body. Secon, the processes of preparing or educating Latino youth were identified and changes within thos processes were instituted. Third, the gradual assumption of responsibilities by the EOP/SAA Office at the University due to the demographic changes and necessary intervention and support activities led to structural changes affecting the Vice-Chancellor for Enrollment Management, the Director and Associate Director of Admissions-Outreach offices. The structure now consists of acting admissions officials. The EOP/SAA Office acts to intervene and support students through outreach, recruitment, admission and enrollment activities. They route large numbers of recruited students to admissions as regular admits and process smaller numbers of students as special. Outreach and recruitment activities are technical and symbolic functions. Admissions is regulatory. Enrollment is regulatory and fiscal.

The counties' community colleges and the University are in the process of designing the community college's curriculum to include UC equivalent courses for the community colleges's second year of the 4-year college track in order to enable those students to

transfer to UC. Moneys and staff have been allocated to institute these courses in the community colleges.

Third, the High School has undergone several changes. The curricular changes include the elimination of remedial courses and the creation and addition of A-F courses. The school calendar and scheduling has been changed to accommodate the A-F courses and other courses such as music, art, and athletics. The counseling process has changed to focus on students' preparation for higher education and a more active role for the counselors. The Principal has acquired cooperation from the feeder middle schools to offer algebra to their eighth grade students to better prepare the incoming freshmen in math. The teachers have been made aware of the Principal's focus on the preparation of their students for UC eligibility.

REFERENCES

Garfield, C. (1967) Industrial Relations in a British Car Factory, London: Cambridge University Press.

Goldberg, W.H. (1983) Merger, motives, modes, methods, England: Gower Publishing Co.

Hoy, W.K. & Miskel, C.G. (1978) Educational Administration: Theory research and practice. NY: Random House.

Keddie, N. (1979). Classroom Knowledge. In M.F.D. Young (ed.), Knowledge and control: New directions for the sociology of education. (122-150). London: Collier-Macmillan.

Lowi, T.J. (1979) The Politics of Disorder. NY: Basic Books.

Meyer, J. W. and Scott, W. Richard (1991), Organizational Environments: Ritual and Rationality, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Noddings, N.Y. (1984) Caring: A feminine approach to ethics and moral education. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Oakes, J. (1985) Keeping track: How schools structure inequality, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Ortiz, F.I. (1994) Schoolhousing: Planning and designing educational facilities. NY: SUNY.

Powell, W.W. and DiMaggio, P.J. (eds) (1991) The new institutionalism in organizational analysis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Weick, K. (1975) Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. Administrative Science Quarterly, 21: 1-19.

Young, O.R. (1986) International regimes: Toward a new theory of institutions, World Politics, 39: 104-22.